

852 may be either a real brother or a classificatory brother) is introduced to the guests. He takes a taper sputtering in vegetable oil, lights a lamp with it, and carries the lamp into the courtyard, offers it to Heaven, and all the spirits, burns boughs of cypress, and, accompanied by his brother, makes nine prostrations to Heaven and all the spirits. Returning to the main room, he makes the same offerings and prostrations to his tutelary spirit.

The boy then pours wine for each of the guests, beginning with his maternal uncle, inviting them to drink and be happy. Noodles are then served to all, but the boy's own bowl is only partly filled, in order to allow each of the guests to put some of his noodles in the boy's bowl, congratulating him cordially and wishing him a long and happy life. The significance of this part of the ceremony is that the longevity of the old men present is supposed to be conferred upon the boy, assuring him a long life. I was fortunate enough to witness this simple and wonderful rite and was delighted to see how the old men carried it out in a manner imbued with religious feeling and kindness.

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755 Parents who do not "dedicate" a child also protect them with talismans. If they go to a lama, he will write a Tibetan prayer which he wraps in red cotton cloth to be hung around the neck of the child with a thin cord. At night it must be hung on a nail on the wall. If the child forgets to take it off and hang it up, it is considered to have been defiled and must be purified in the smoke of cypress boughs in order to restore its efficacy. If they go to a Chinese Taoist priest, he will write the Chinese character for "longevity" on a sheet of paper, adding a cabalistic design. The paper is then wrapped in red cotton cloth, folded in a triangle, and sewed on the back of the child's clothes. Either a lama or a Taoist priest will perform this service in return for a small present.

858 Respect for the lives of children is deeply rooted in the patrilineal family system. The rare instances of infanticide that I noted in my earlier study, *Le mariage chez les T'u-jen* (p. 105) are due to the influence of the Chinese, among whom this practice is not unusual. Among the Monguors, children are the golden threads interwoven in the fabric of life. A mother is bound by her love for her children and rarely leaves her hearth to live with another man. Her orientation toward her children is fortified by the respect for family obligations in which she herself has been brought up. Mothers who are unable to suckle their children easily find another woman in the village who will act as wet nurse. If a mother dies leaving young children, everyone is willing to help take care of them. When a child is sick, the whole village is in a hustle and bustle to try to help save its life, and when a child dies the consternation and sorrow are general and real. The religious observances on behalf of sick children will be discussed in a future work on the religious life of the Monguors. [P. 104 b]

[30 cont.]

756 sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary
*778 spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front
[776] of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he
[782] sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit
[439] are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery
[792] markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come
from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

756 Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his
776 tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration:
the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in gen-
eral the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take
possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the
tutelary spirit of the shaman.

756 Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to
463 prophesy, heal the sick, conjure away storms, drive away demons.
He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests,
or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect
a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the
yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-
goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate
at funerals and weddings.

•755 The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold.
756 The following is the most common. First of all the shaman
[787] puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron
spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth
from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters
some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open
[31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly
steeped: Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the
sick person to drink.

756 In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to
783 demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their
hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit
their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[34 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 36 cont.]
menstruated; others maintain the
opposite. At any rate, she has to be
an unmarried person. In this connec-
tion cf. what is said in the section con-
cerning death customs and cremation:
that they are demons and are especially
feared by demons.

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[789]

Activities: A special activity of the Bon priests is the
erection of the pole-goat and conjuring away storms, as well as
the making and conjuring of the figure-litter. Otherwise they
have almost the same activities as the other soothsayers: they
designate lucky days for housebuilding, traveling, etc.; they
question fate concerning sickness and medicine. For soothsaying,
[787] however, they use no special instruments; instead they have
books from which they take everything. There are also Bon
priests who have learned to take the pulse and to prescribe medi-
cines and are able to cure without magic. -- The Bon priests do
not go into a trance, but only pray (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 35] The Bon are re-
garded with a kind of secret fear by the
Tujen. They also have something to do
with springs and mountains. It is said that
they often dwell alone in tents in remote
ravines and at wells throughout the summer.
There they pray, conjure away storms, etc.
Perhaps this seclusion contributes to the fact
that all kinds of uncanny machinations are
reported of them.

Word List

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Shepherd-Bon: sēnoḡsa (snagḡsa) (7); ch'an-t'ou peng-po (Chin.) =
Bon with queue wound up.

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.]
"trumpet." Judging by the sign, however, this la-pa is itself a Chinese imitation of a foreign word. The Tsinghai Chinese have the designation pi-li for the shell-horn, but this evidently comes from the Tujen verb pillie (to blow), for instance, dōngē pillie = to blow the conch. The Chinese say ch'uei pi-li for this. Otherwise, the Chinese name for the Triton horn is simply luo (lo), and the conch-goddess taken over from Buddhism (Tib. Duñ-ma, Sanskr. Mangala śaṅkha) is called pao-lo t'ien-nū, "heavenly elf of the preciousness-conch"; cf. Pander-Grünwedel, Pantheon, p. 105, No. 294; p. 115.

[71]

The shell-horn and its cultic use is old and widespread in India and the South Seas and has been taken over into Buddhism. The function of the conch in the Lamaist cult naturally cannot be explored further here. For an understanding of the Tujen custom, however, the following should be noted. The blowing of the conch brings harmony into the universe and [49] can release the hunger-spirits (Preta) and lead them into the paradise of joys (Tushita); cf. Pander-Grünwedel, loc. cit. Shells whose spirals do not run from right to left, as is usual, but the opposite way are especially valuable; cf. Ch. Das (p. 628): duñ-dkar gyas 'k'il (Sansk. dakṣiṇā varta śaṅkha). The sound of such a conch cures sickness, and, if it is kept in the house, it pacifies quarrels and disturbances and guarantees harmony in the family. That

[755]
[578]

[846 cont.]

789 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things, the
776 demon will punish him.

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Word List

192 Demon escort: rēdzōnwa (Tib. ?) gārgani = one takes away
789 that which is to be taken away.

[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].

Saddlebag: dadzē (Chin. loanword).

Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

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3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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[777]

[778]

[782]

In order to protect the children from misfortune, one invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.

On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing. There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

1 [i.e. - the animal and things used in the
demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST.]

[847 cont.]

Details

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Time: Ordinarily the ceremony takes place when a child is sick. It can also be undertaken, however, as a preventive measure against [848] sickness. Then the third or ninth month is chosen by preference.

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Place: One stays in one's own house and does not go into the local temple; the Bon priests also live in the compound. The place is taboo during these days. The burning of the objects must always be done outside the place.

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[534]

The prayer service: For the prayer service the Bon priests bring along a large double drum, which is suspended from a beam (1), and, furthermore, sounding plates, a hand bell,

1. [Foreign text p. 849.] By means of a ring the drum is suspended from a beam in the room with a cord. The Bon sticks one finger of his left hand through the second ring on the drum and thus pulls the drum tight so that it does not swing back and forth. At the same time he also holds in his left hand a sounding plate. In his right hand he has drum sticks and the second sounding plate, so that through skillful handling he can beat both instruments at the same time.

bone flute, and Tibetan prayer texts. The prayer service takes place four times a day, namely, at sunrise, after the morning tea, at noon, and in the evening; the incense offering is made in the yard each time.

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another tormā is also made.

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[849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away. They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the tormā.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the tormā is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen.

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The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

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4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[849 cont.]

784
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[Note on foreign text p. 850 cont.]
and to the demon-escort. I could
not ascertain from the notes whether
the Bon priest touches the sick person
with the figures and thus transfers the
sickness to them, as is the case with
the shamanistic figure-conjuration.
Cf. the following chapter, Note 5.

Word List

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784

[778]

Figure-litter:

šergundi; made up of šē (Tib.) = demon,
rēgun = nine (Tib.); ndi (Tib. ?) = complete (3) (5).

3. [Foreign text p. 850.] This
explanation by the informant is
uncertain.

5. [Foreign text p. 850.] šergundi:
Tibetan bse = demon, dgu = nine,
k'ri (pronounced thi) = litter. Mean-
ing: nine-demons' litter. -- šbawog:
Tibetan sbal (pronounced bal) = toad,
frog; nag = black (Unkrig).

[791]

[778]

[825]

Bon priest:

xuāndzie (xuāndie).

Demon-torma:

dzuor (Tib.).

Sheep:

xoni.

Goat:

imā.

Hen:

tagu.

Pig:

xge.

Dog:

nogug (noxue).

Snake:

moque.

Frog:

šbawog (5) [see Note 5 above].

Horse:

mori.

Cattle:

ulā.

- 192 [849 cont.]
789 Raven's feather: kērie fōdē.
[778] He has painted the demon on paper: tsialdzērē ilieni xuarladzia.
[778] Horse's skull: mori tolguē yāsē.
[778] Little-bearer: ndi kurgēdzin kun = men accompanying the whole (litter?) away.

[Pages 849-850 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[850]

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4. The Figure-conjuration * (1)

* See "Notes," pp. 851-182 [of foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

1. [Foreign text p. 851.] I could not obtain any clarification concerning the actual name. It seems that the rdzōñ in rdzōñwa is the same as in dzōñrē. The ceremony is quite similar to the one with the figure-litter.

Report

[756] In case of very severe illness one invites in a shaman who makes a series of figures, touches the sick person with them, and takes away the figures in the evening for burning.

[789] Afterwards he buries a series of objects in order to hold
[357] down the sickness-demon. The compound remains taboo for
[784] all strangers during this time, three, five, seven, or nine days, depending upon the sickness involved.

[850 cont.]

Details

755 The figures: Nine kinds of things are needed for the
778 figure-conjuration. 1. Five little paper men (2). They are

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[171]
[789] .
2. [Foreign text p. 851.] The Chinese, too, have these paper figures at their demon exorcisms; they call them wu-tao shen. Among them, however, it is not clear whether five or only one demon is involved. They are mentioned once in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien as wu-tao lei-shen, that is, five-way thunder-spirits, which punish human beings through wind, rain, water, fire, and epidemics.

about 10 to 20 centimeters high and of the type of the Chinese paper figures that are burned at the burial. Only here they wear Tujen dress, which depends on whether male or female demons are involved. One can also simply cut them out of a piece of strong paper, but usually they are stuck together in the form of a figure with the help of stalks of grass. 2. Five little tsamba men. They are not colored, but retain the characteristic tsamba color. Also, they wear no clothing and are represented as sexless. 3. A pig made of tsamba. 4. A hen or a cock made of tsamba. 5. A dog made of tsamba. 6. A sheep made of tsamba. 7. A goat of tsamba. 8. A cow of tsamba. 9. A horse of tsamba. These figures are made by shamans with the help of a skillful man, in a way similar to the figures of the figure-litter.

755 Then they are put on a tray with the following accom-
782 panying gifts: a piece of raw pork, beef, or mutton, some pieces of cloth and threads in the five sacred colors for the five little men, and bread and money. The tray is set before the household altar, and a burning dough-lamp and a basin with cypress incense or a number of incense sticks are put in front of it.

[850 cont.]

755 The conjuration: As soon as it is dark the gurtum goes
756 into a trance in the usual fashion before the household altar.
[787] Then he rises, fights [851] the demons with his sword in the air,
and goes to the sick person. The tray is brought after him.
With his one free hand he takes one figure after another from
the tray, touches the affected places on the patient with them
while constantly swinging the sword and murmuring magic
words, and puts them back on the tray (5).

[171]
[789]

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5. [Foreign text p. 852.] The custom of transferring sickness to animals or animal figures is also reported of Siberian shamans elsewhere. In this case, however, the similarity with the above-described Bon custom is to be noted. Originally actual animals might have been sacrificed. It was Buddhism that first combated these sacrifices and abolished them. Then substitute figures arose for them. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 176 and 263, writes in this connection: "... prohibits for the hated rivals the sacrifice of animals. In this connection the interesting fact is mentioned that the Bon-po were forced to make images of yaks and sheep out of grain mush, as well as wooden deer heads with wide horns, which henceforth had to serve as substitutes at the sacrificial ceremonies. The first-mentioned dough figures, made by means of wooden molds, are still found today, it is worthy of note, even in the rites of the Lamaists"; cf. loc. cit., where the literature is also cited.

[851 cont.]

755 Then he storms out into the street, and the men follow
him with the things while he fights on with his sword. As soon
756 as they are out of the village and reach a crossroads, they stop.
A man piles a back-basket full of straw on the ground, and the
things from the tray are thrown into it. Then the whole thing is
set afire. They do not wait any longer, but quickly go home.

755 Burial of the magic objects: The shaman designates a
789 spot on the ground in front of the yard gate; the men immedi-
[787] ately dig a pit there. The shaman, still in a trance, puts nine
[756] kinds of things in it. First he puts a black food bowl on the floor
of the pit; he puts red-hot coals in the food bowl, pours pure
water over them, and puts in an iron knife, a small bow and
arrow, a magic wooden dagger, a black chain (3), and a piece

3. [Foreign text pp. 851-852.]

[778] The magic dagger and the black chain are also used in connection with the pole-goat; cf. the appropriate section. No clarification could be obtained concerning the type of wood used for this dagger. The informant called it [852] siraldzin; he translated it with the Chinese huang-san (shan) tzu in the sense of yellow-mountain (wood). In the DMF there is the translation "armoise," Artemisia. This could not possibly be involved here. It must be a very hard kind of wood.

of iron from a town gate. He inverts a large earthen vessel over the whole (4); the men fill the pit and level it off so that one

4. [Foreign text p. 852.] The chain binds the demons, and the vessel caps them.

[851 cont.]

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can no longer see where the things are buried.

Now all go into the house. The shaman awakes from his trance.

Word List

192
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Figure-conjuration:

rdzōnwa (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above], (5) [see Note 5 above], (6)

6. [Foreign text p. 852] rdzōnwa or dzōnre: At the base of these two words lies the Tibetan stem rdsons = to take away (pronounced: dzon). sira dzin: Mongolic sira modon = yellow-wood. It is an especially hard kind of wood, Phellodendron amurense (Unkrig).

[778]

Figures (little men):

rdzōnrē (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Raw meat:

tōgō maxa.

Black food-bowl:

xara iga.

Black vessel:

xara pēndzē.

Knife:

tsidēguo.

Magic dagger:

sira (dzin) (6) [see Note 6 above] mpuru = yellow-wood magic-dagger.

Chain:

fsiasga.

Iron from the town gate: badzēr-udie timur.

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[Pages 851-852 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[852]

5. The Washing of the Sick*

* See "Notes," p. 854 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation the notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[852 cont.] 5. *The Washing of the Sick*
Report

755 The washing of the sick is undertaken by the sword-
[756] shaman at the coming of darkness. He puts himself in a trance
[787] as is customary during the incense offering, then throws a few
kernels of Tibetan barley on his breast-mirror, which is held
flat, and prophecies which illness is involved; then he under-
[357] takes the ceremonies. The taboo for the compound begins on
[784] the following day and, depending on the declaration of the
shaman, may last three, five, or seven days.

The ceremony has three parts: the actual washing, fire-
blowing, and the healing drink. The things needed for the
washing are provided by the family itself.

Details

The washing of the sick: The washing takes place in
the kitchen. The following things are needed for it: seven bowls
of fresh water, an iron knife, a door lock, seven white stones,
a bowl of liquor, some flowers, three, five, and seven pieces of
paper with certain prayer texts, seven different things in all.

755 Now in the kitchen the hearth kettle is washed, fumi-
756 gated, and placed on the fire. The master of the household
[787] lights the fire and throws [853] incense twigs into it. Now the
shaman, already in a trance, comes out of the main house
into the kitchen; in his right hand he holds his spirit-sword,
while he keeps his left hand free for the various actions.

First the seven bowls of water are poured into the kettle,
and the shaman throws incense twigs and Tibetan barley into it.
[783] Then he thrusts his sword through his clothes into his chest as
proof of his power and in order to purify himself. No blood flows.

Meanwhile the sick person is brought into the kitchen.
The shaman bares the chest of the patient and thrusts the above-
mentioned knife midway into it. No blood may flow. If the
[787] sick person bleeds, then he will not be healed; if he does not
bleed, he will be saved. The shaman plasters the wound with
one of the prayer sheets; he throws the knife into the kettle.

[853 cont.]

755 During this time a man heats the seven white stones in
756 the hearth fire until they are red-hot. Then he takes them out
with an iron spoon and with it hands them to the shaman. The
latter takes one stone after another in his mouth and spits them
into the kettle. Then he throws the other things, the lock, the
flowers, and the prayer texts, into the water and finally pours in
the bowl of liquor. Now the sick person is completely disrobed,
and the shaman washes him from top to bottom with his one free
hand, scooping the boiling water out of the kettle with his hand.
Then the sick person is put back on his kang in the house.

The water remains in the kettle, on the following two
days, when the shaman has already gone, the people must repeat
the washing. On the third day they pour out the water in front
of the yard gate. They can use the things, the lock, knife, etc.,
again for ordinary purposes.

755 The fire-blowing: After the washing the shaman goes
372 into the room of the sick person. During this time the men in
756 the yard start a strong fire with sheep dung and wood. They put
a plowshare in it and make it white-hot. A man puts a stick
[787] through the white-hot plowshare and takes it in to the shaman,
who is still in a trance, but has given his sword to another man.
Now he seizes the glowing plowshare with both hands with a
hada that hangs from his breast-mirror, licks it with his bare
tongue, takes a respectable mouthful of liquor, and turns to the
[273] sick person. He blows the alcohol out of his mouth over the
plowshare in strong blasts, which each time makes a burst of
fire shoot out toward the sick person. Then he takes the plow-
share in front of the gate and places it at the foot of the yard
wall. There the men immediately throw earth over it and wall
it in.

755 The drink of the sick: Now the shaman again goes into
756 the room of the sick person. A man extends an iron spoon to
him. He rips off a piece of the hada on his protective-mirror,
places it in the spoon, and throws a few barley kernels in it.
Then a man pours water into the spoon until it is full, holds it

[853 cont.]

- 755 in the hearth fire until the water boils and the cloth and barley
756 are thoroughly boiled. He hands this decoction to the sick person
who must drink it down immediately. With that the ceremony
is ended.

[854] The shaman rests from his exertions, eats his supper,
and goes home.

Word List

192 755	Washing the 'sick:	<u>guāndzi</u> (xuāndzie) <u>fdzē 'sdani</u> = the shaman boils water.
[756]	Sword-shaman:	<u>sgurdien</u> .
	Knife:	<u>tsidi'guo</u> .
	Lock:	<u>tsūrguo</u> .
	Red-hot stone:	<u>sōdān</u> ; <u>ts'u-t'an</u> (<u>ch'ū-t'an</u>) (Chin.).
	Barley liquor:	<u>min-liu dērasē</u> .
	Flowers:	<u>tsidzig</u> .
	Prayer texts:	<u>dzayañ</u> (1).

1. dzayañ: Mongolic dayagan (pro-
nounced dayan) = fortune, fate, etc.;
meaning: prayer of fate (Unkrig).

6. The House-purification *

* See "Notes," p. 855. [of the
foreign text]. [In the translation
these notes are given as numbered
footnotes following the designations
for them in the text.]

Report

- 755 If someone is seriously ill, then the shaman, with the
789 men of the household, undertakes a house-purification. On this
756 occasion the demon is conjured out of the house in a straw doll,
[783] dragged out of the village, and burned.

[854 cont.]

Details

Things: Seven things are needed for the exorcism:

1. A torch. It consists of a stick wrapped with straw and soaked in oil. At least one torch is needed, but usually there are several. 2. A measure of small pebbles of any color. 3. An oil-pan. This is usually only a large iron spoon that is filled with oil and glowing coals to make a strong flame. 4. Bow and arrow. The arrow is wrapped with wadding at the tip; it is soaked in oil and lighted. 5. A hemp whip. It is usually very long, up to two meters. To make it, three tapering strands of hemp are plaited into a braid that is so thick at one end that it can just be held in the hand, whereas the other end tapers to a fine point so that it will crack well. 6. A live hen of any color or sex. 7. A straw man (3). It is very simple. One takes a long

3. [Foreign text 855.] The Chinese, too, often use these straw dolls, which they throw on the field or on crossroads, likewise without shamans. -- In the Tujen monastery of the Yellow Sect, Rguloñ, I once also saw Bon priests who had been invited by the monastery to undertake a demon-conjuration on the fifteenth day of each month. They also made a straw man and said that the Namsri was conjured into it by their prayers. On the last morning, before sunrise, they tied this straw doll to a mani-pole and hacked it to pieces with their knives.

smooth wisp of straw, bends it in the middle, ties off the upper third with pieces of straw so that a head is formed, and transversely through this third draws a smaller wisp which represents the arms. -- All these things are provided by the people themselves.

[854 cont.]

● 155 Exorcism: Towards evening, when darkness begins to
789 fall, the shaman goes into a trance before the household altar (1).

[756]
[787]

1. [Foreign text p. 855.] Before
the exorcism the shaman divines,
with barley on his protective
mirror, which demon is involved.

During this time a man runs out of the village with the hen to a
crossroads, twists or hacks off the hen's head, and with the
fluttering [855] hen squirts the blood in all directions of the com-
pass. Then he throws away the hen as food for the demon and
[982] goes home. -- The straw man is put on the threshold of the main
house or in the yard.

As soon as the shaman is in a trance, he jumps up and,
155 running in wild leaps through all the rooms of the compound,
789 performs the sword battle against the demon. The men follow
156 him. Stones hail down on the ground. One circles around in
[787] the rooms with the torches. One man holds the oil-pan, takes
mouthfuls of liquor, and blows it over the fire into the room, so
[213] that each time a red flash shoots out. Others crack the whip
from room to room and shoot burning arrows at the floor. In
this way the demon is driven into the straw doll. This is dragged
by a hemp string or a straw rope out of the gate over the village
street to the nearest crossroads, where the hen is lying. The
shaman follows, fighting with his sword; stones, blows, fire-
arrows, and flashes of fire rain down on the doll. It is left
lying at the crossroads. The men pour the oil out of the pan
over it, throw the torches, arrows, stones, etc. on it, and
leave it smoldering (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 855.] This form
of exorcism is the simplest of all. Usu-
ally all kinds of other ceremonies are
connected with it. I once saw such a
sword-shaman as he was trying to heal
a child among the Chinese. He cast

[855 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.]
about himself with sword and lance,
hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up
a straw man, swung a winnowing
shovel and a sieve, danced, and
foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman
goes home and has his supper.

Word List

192		
755	House-purification:	<u>rdzōñwa</u> (<u>rēdzōñwa</u>).
789	The torch:	<u>huo-pa</u> (Chin.).
[416]	The stones:	<u>tašē</u> ; <u>sa-shih</u> (Chin.).
	Oil-basin:	<u>gal-tuḡuo</u> ; <u>yu-kuo</u> (Chin.).
	Fire-arrow:	<u>gal sēmu</u> ; <u>huo-chien</u> (Chin.).
	Fire-bow:	<u>gal lēmu</u> ; <u>huo-kung</u> (Chin.).
	The hemp whip:	<u>uluosē yudier</u> ; <u>ma-pien-tzu</u> (Chin.).
	The hen:	<u>tagū</u> ; <u>huo-chi</u> (Chin.), <u>huo</u> : here = to live.
[778]	The straw man:	<u>sdagu kun</u> ; <u>ts'ao-jen</u> (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear
here.]

[856]

7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the
foreign text]. [In the translation
these notes are given as numbered
footnotes following the designations
for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[866 cont.]

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[792] The place for the black fire-pouring is usually a remote ravine. One pitches black tents and lives there several days with the lama in solitude. In no case may one undertake the black fire-pouring in the vicinity of temples or human habitations.

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[776] In case of epidemics, the black fire-pouring is used preferably, in order to annoy the demons of sickness and thus to drive them away, for with them the misfortune, too, disappears.

Meaning: The fire-pouring is an offering for the gods; through it they are supposed to be induced to turn away misfortune and sickness (7). The seven-day prayer of the lama is

7. [Foreign text pp. 868-869.] The whole gives very much the impression of a fire-offering. The informant, however, thought that it had nothing to do with it. According to him it was an offering to the appropriate Buddhas. The fire-god was also venerated with it, as the tormas proved, but this was not the main thing. Nevertheless there is no doubt but that a fire-offering, Homa, is involved (cf. Lessing, loc. cit.). The Tujen name alone cannot be interpreted other than as a corruption of the Tibetan sbyin-sreg. sbyin is pronounced jin, which is very clearly to be seen in Note 8 (žūin-tšəg). Ch. Das, p. 940, writes under sbyin-sreg: "burnt offerings as made by Tantrik Buddhists, ... sbyin-sreg-gi [869] rdzas clarified butter, articles necessary for burnt sacrifices. ... sbyin-sreg-gi yam-šin ... first wood necessary for the offering" [cited in English]. (For yam-šin, cf. the Tujen foreign word yew-sin.) "Homa is the

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[776]

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
[769] ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
[764] stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
[782] the deceased would remain among the living and would need to
partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are
so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
[573] even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[753] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined
is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said
that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape
of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
[756] for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
[755] soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This
catching of the soul is called: suniedzē xura-. It is unclear from
this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209]

b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same
as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central
Asia. It has no peculiarity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru
(rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun,
moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the
earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals.
Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the under-
world and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety
or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found
most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less
clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the
chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-
drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

[The bō or Drum-Shamans]

[235 cont.]

756 and, depending upon the region, various local spirits. These
776 gods predominantly come from the Taoist pantheon.

789 [236] Activity. -- Their principal task is the weather
241 conjuration, the sowing and harvest festivals, and curing sick-
755 nesses.

756 Peculiarity. -- The bō or fa-shih are differentiated from
787 the other shamans by the fact that they have no trance. If one
questions the people about it, one always receives the same
answer: "fa-shih pu fa shen (the fashih do not go into ecstasy)." Now that is not entirely correct. Namely, at the conclusion of the sowing or harvest festival, one of them attempts an imitation of the trance and wounds himself with the knife. This is called: "fa ta-shen (to produce a great trance)." It is not a trance at all, but at most a relic suggesting it; I was able to observe it several times. Thus the people are basically right when they do not accord ecstasy to them. -- The people sum up the main
756 characteristic, however, in the saying: "fa-shih ch'uei ku, t'iao
535 shen (the fashih beat the drum and perform spirit dances)." Drum and dance are the most outstanding. They always dance in groups before the image of the great mother in order to please her, or also before the sacrificial pig. These are not shamanistic individual dances in order to induce a trance, but are cultic group-dances that follow a definite ritual. One can therefore designate them as drum- or dance-shamans, although true shamanistic features are scarcely present any more.

Classification

171 Relationship to the more recent Siberian shamanism.
756 -- There are few similarities with Siberian shamanism. One could regard the drum as the most important continuation from Siberian shamanism. The relationship with the Tungusic and Mongolic-Manchurian shamanism is stronger. The drum has almost exactly the same execution and the same appendages as, for example, among the Mongols of the Kūrie-Banner. (Cf.

The support and protection of the Mongols, and of the emperors of China saved and established the Yellow Sect, which was on a foundation of rock. In 1717-1719 the Jungar Mongols persecuted the Red Sects and destroyed 550 of their monasteries.⁶⁰

KUMBUM⁶¹

The insecurity in Huang-chung and the struggle in Tibet among the sects provide an explanation for the late date assigned to the founding of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum. One and a half centuries after the death (1419) of Tsong khapa, the lama Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, in 1560, built some "cells" for himself and his ten monks (hermitage). Later, twenty more cells were added. In 1577, seventeen years later, a temple was built close to the "tower," whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree which at that time must have been 220 years old (1357-1577), and a statue of Maitreya was honored in the temple.⁶² According to this tradition and the customs of Buddhist India, a tower must have first been built on the spot of the birth of Tsong khapa to commemorate the event. It is not known when this tower was built.

⁶⁰ L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 44, 71, Leiden, Brill, 1950.

⁶¹ Kumbum, the lamasery of the 100,000 images is, at present, the most celebrated lamasery of Huang-chung, because of its precious trees, which are lilacs (Philadelphus, coronarius; see Rockhill, W., *Land of the lamas*, 67). The main tree sprang from the placenta of Tsong khapa (1357) and is said to have 100,000 images of Buddhas growing on its leaves. Much has been written about the tree. On May 6 and October 3, 1912, and on October 10, 1914, Father J. Essens and I read on the leaves only the two letters *Pa*, the thirteenth letter of the alphabet and *Ya*, the twenty-fourth letter, repeated indefinitely, written more or less correctly where the leaves were easy to reach. They were written with the red earth, which Chinese and Tibetan teachers use to correct the compositions of pupils. The sacred leaves are a wonderful panacea, healing all kinds of diseases of men, women, and children. It has been recorded that in Ch'ü-t'an and in Hung-shan-ssu the same kind of miraculous trees are encountered.

It is worth noting what is written regarding the tree (here called a "White Sandalwood") in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomunkhan of Amdo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1887, Part I, No. 1, p. 28: "On the birthplace of Tsong khapa there exists a white Sandalwood tree, on every leaf of which, at the time of the reformer's birth, there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge naro, supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a 'hundred thousand images of Buddha' having appeared on the leaves, the town and the monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves of the Chandan tree and Sugpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by the Gelugpa monks." The Chinese call Kumbum T'a-erh-ssu, that is, "the lamasery of the [eight] stupas," because at its entrance there are eight stupas said to contain the ashes of eight Living Buddhas killed by General Nien Keng-yao at the time of the revolt of the Kumbum lamas in 1723. Filchner (*Dschamba-ling*, 160) notes: "They were built at the time of the 31st mK'ampo of Kumbus [date not given] by the chief of Roko, native of Amdo, after eight lamas had been killed by a Chinese prince, ruler of the country."

⁶² Filchner, *op. cit.*, 29.

[p. 25(A)]

In the Ordos region there is encountered a text which is still recited at the festivities in honor of Khutuktai Setsen Kung Taiji, great-grandfather of Sanang Setsen, by a lay official called *djumu*, who presides over the sacrifices offered on the grave of the hero being worshipped. Father Mostaert has called my attention to the fact that such invocations always start with the invitation to come down and to rest for awhile in the midst of the congregation. The invitation is first to Chingis Khan, his wives, his sons, and ministers, and continues with the same invitation to the hero honored at the moment, followed by an invitation to his glorious descendants, the spirits of earth, and the four points of the compass. Then the spirits are invited to enjoy the offerings, which are enumerated, and to extend their protection over the worshippers. Such conventions of the Mongols of the Ordos take place, like those of the Monguors, in the presence of a great number of invited spirits and departed ancestors, who are supposed to descend among the worshippers.³ 769

SPIRITS EXPELLED FROM THE FAMILIES

In order to avoid repetitious descriptions of practices concerning the curing of ailments, prevention of diseases among children, and means to undo the harm wrought in families by evil spirits, which are encountered in all the books dealing with shamanism and Lamaism, and are nearly the same everywhere, only a few practices will here be recorded revealing the peculiar ways and psychology of the Monguors. 753

The Monguors, nominally fervent adherents of Lamaism, ought to ascribe ailments and all kinds of mischief and calamities to their own acts in some former life, according to the law of retribution. They should, therefore, wait peacefully for a happy recovery and for an end to the calamities. In fact, however, as soon as a member of the family takes ill, or some harm is done, without inquiring a bit about the possible natural causes of the disease or other trouble, they imagine themselves confronted by evil spirits, or having themselves stirred the spleen of some spirit. Accordingly, they do not invite a doctor and try medicines, or try to help themselves, but run in a hurry to the man who can withstand the evil spirits, conjure them and drive them away. Such men are always at hand—lamas of the Yellow and Red Sects, white or black shamans, and the Kurtain.

The first problem facing all these troubled people is to detect the trouble-making spirit, and then to find the means either to placate the spirit, or to combat it and drive it away. 755

The theatrical Kurtain, possessed by his spirit, declares with his head-shaking that in his trance he knows the culprit, and starts immediately with wild evolutions to combat it and drive it out of the house with his

³ F. A. Mostaert, *Ordosica*, Bull. Catholic Univ. of Peking, Nov. 1934: 58.

sword. A couple of devout old Monguors reverently told me that on sick people the Kurtain practiced washing with boiling water, piercing his chest and that of the patient with his sword, putting in his mouth red-hot stones and vomiting them out again, but they themselves had never seen the Kurtain practicing these actions. All other Monguors, however, burst into peals of laughter when I inquired about these tales.*

White shamans get indications about the evil-doer by listening to their drum, wherein their Tengris reveal the culprit and the means of combatting it; or they use their staff, by means of which their Tengris inform them. The Red lamas use the staff into which descends the deity whom they peculiarly honor, in order to be able to undo the harm. They say that they invite not an unknown spirit but the deity to which they are devoted to enter the staff, for evil spirits could also possess the staff and lead them astray. The shaman, worked into a frenzy, combats and drives out the spirit with whip, spear, and sword (but he does not use the sword at the time of the spring rite). Red lamas read texts for some days and make *tormas*, and are as capable as the shaman is in practicing the rites of the scape-goat,⁴ or that of the sedan chair, in which the evil spirit is carried away and buried in a pit;⁵ or the torturing of the straw doll, or the cypress burning with plenty of aromatics, or the black, white, and red Wei-sang rite.⁶ Shamans, when healing the sick, use the rope⁷ along which the escaped souls of the patients are called back, captured in a bottle, and restored to them. Yellow lamas are invited by the Monguors to read texts and make *tormas* for seven days when things go wrong. They also practice the rite of the scape-goat and the burying of different kinds of urns⁸ in order to conciliate the earth god.

All of them, shamans and lamas, perform upon the sick the practice, well known all over Asia, of applying over the entire body pieces of bread and paper soaked in water, and saying, "Those who came from the north, go back to the north and wait at a crossroad for other wayfarers." They repeat the same words for each of the points of the compass and then the used bread and paper are brought to a crossroad and thrown on it. A goat is killed and the head is thrown in the direction of the cemetery of the wicked people. Nobody dares to eat such heads. All the rites performed by shamans, Kurtains, and Red lamas are accompanied by terrible noisemaking and crying and theatrical evolutions. After all holes in the walls have been plugged and the doors closed and sealed, in order to prevent the evil

* Schröder, *op. cit.*, 852, *Krankentwaschung*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 844, *Dämonengeleit*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 847, *Figurensunft*.

⁶ Schröder, *op. cit.*, 860, *Der Feuerguss*.

⁷ Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 581. It is strange how all over Asia souls and spirits are supposed to walk on ropes.

⁸ Schröder, *op. cit.*, 856, *Erdgott-urne*.

spirit from escaping, the foe is searched for in all the nooks and corners of the rooms and stables. A terrible struggle with it is engaged in with swords and whips. It is tortured and finally driven away to a crossroad at night, with the help of the neighbors firing guns. These rites have been described hundreds of times. 755

Some of the answers supplied by the spirits of the staff to shamans and lamas concerning the causes of mischief and calamity among the Monguors are worthy of notice.

The goddess, sitting in the imposing sedan chair in the middle of the temple of the village, receiving the worshipping villagers and smelling the incense smoke, is, none the less, in an ill mood and bad tempered, because, like many of her sex, being fond of a new piece of clothing, she wants a new mantle. The shaman says: "She has worn the mantle for five or more years; its color has faded; it has been mended so many times by the thrifty villagers, that really, she can hardly keep it on her shoulders; she is ashamed to be greeted and approached by people who are better clad than she. Give a fine new mantle to your goddess and the disease will vanish." Or it is said that the goddess, while visiting the god Erh-lang, had lost her earrings which must be replaced. 776

Once it was the deity honored by the family in the living room which resented the family's neglect and disregard of it. An act of propitiation had to be performed and a sheep or goat offered in reparation. Once it was the shadow of a deceased member of the family which passed over the sick, eager to take with it another member of the family. Once it was the Twelve Tengris, weak and starving for lack of being nourished by a sacrifice during many months, who drastically urged a sacrifice. Once it was the case of a spell cast upon the sick by a fiendish neighbor. A solution has to be found for all such cases, using one of the means noted above. 755

The following should be noted for its philosophical interest. When the shadow of a deceased is supposed to have caused the disease, the shaman, having made a straw manikin and transfixed it with the dagger, and pulled it burning outside the courtyard, traces outside the gate three small circles and one bigger in size. He pours in each several cups of noodles and tea. The food in the three small circles is intended to feed the ancestors of the three immediate senior generations of the sick man, and the food in the big one is intended for the roaming alien souls. Ancestors of no more than three generations are fed, because those of older generations are supposed to have vanished. The same custom has been noted at the feast of the Spring.

SPIRITS EXPELLED FROM THE VILLAGES

Not only individual families are supposed to be harmed by evil spirits. The entire village may be haunted by spirits, and so every year in wintertime the

SHAMANS AND BEWITCHMENT

The shaman is the recognized protector against all kinds of evil influences and bewitching. Monguors are scared to be in the neighborhood of very old trees and Obos. A very old tree, it is said, is about to become a spirit and even a man, because the essence of the tree has grown out of its perfection. Thus, the very old tree of the village of Lei-chia-p'u in the Sa-t'ang Valley, it is said, takes a walk at night and harms the people it encounters. It is also said that it is very dangerous for pregnant women to walk in the village at night. The same belief is prevalent about old statues and about Obos on small passes. The shaman is invited by the neighbors of these dangerous objects to preserve them against their baneful influences and to neutralize their ill-omened forces. Lamas are invited by the people living near such Obos to read texts and do Wei-sang, hoping they will not harm them.

Bewitchment is the last resource for avenging injustices and outrages, which cannot be avenged by legal and overt means, and for doing harm to an enemy by a hidden means. Such acts are considered by the Monguors to be a direct resort to black magic, and in order to neutralize or to perform a bewitchment, they usually invite a black shaman, but it is not exceptional to encounter a white shaman doing the job. Bewitchment is, most of the time, performed in case of lawsuits for properties that have been unjustly decided, in cases of eloped women who cannot be brought back home, for presumption of theft, in cases of jealousy and hatred between two wealthy families.

In 1918 a Monguor living in the Lu men'cheng Valley was sued at the Chinese court by a rich Chinese, and jailed for a few months. When he was liberated, he invited a black shaman who prepared some small wooden planks, on which he painted cabalistic designs with the blood of a white dog. The Monguor buried them in the cemetery of the rich Chinese, according to the prescriptions of the shaman. During one year, three persons died in the family of the Chinese. The Chinese then invited a celebrated black shaman to neutralize the evil influences which were harming him and his family. It happened that the celebrated black shaman was the knave who had prepared the planks for the Monguor! He told the rich Chinese to be suspicious, for a foe of his might have buried bewitched planks in his cemetery. He received his salary and went home. The planks were found. The Chinese sued the Monguor at the court of the T'u-szu, because mandarins do not care for such troubles. The Monguor was compelled to invite twelve shamans in order to undo the spell.

Another fact, well known over the country in 1914 because a whole village and a living Buddha were involved, casts light on this psychology of the Monguors. Tjaar tsom, the limping chief of the village of Ch'ue-lung-ku, was sued at the Chinese court by Chao, the